1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

● 262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [437 southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were supported by the community, kept a much better table than the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[12]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Culture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

● [262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his fellmen sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcoçauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[304 852] 776 [Izcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrow-shafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujoquiztililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan ycalli: quixipetlaiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, copaltemjlilo,

oauhquiltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan quimanjlaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jovveiocan, iuh cemjlhujtl, in quicuicatia, quitecciznpichilia, quiteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoalhiloia, ynjc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoa: ipampa in iancujcan oquialoc oauhquiltamalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin quiztlaxquiaia: yn aca cuatl: cuiaatl, xnujli, axolotl, totetl: in çaço tlein ocacic ixioli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlasquja yn tota.

Auh yn oiocac, noujan tlatlauanaia in veveteque, ylamatque: iuh quitoaia, quitlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, tzcalcruja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtociaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jtucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixquich tlacatl, quipaloaia, quiltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillauano:

yoan vncã quiztlatiaia, quimamaujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quintemoaia pilhoaque, quintlauhtiaia; iehoantin quimamatihuja, vmpa quimoncaoaia, yn itxupan iacoçauhqui: vmpa quinnacazxapotlaia, quinnacacoconjaia: iuhquin ic quimachiotiaia, ynjc quimitta, yntlacan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tlãtica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtocoinacacle, quetzalmjiaoaio, mjtzone, tlacotztzone, xiuhcoainacoche, atuacomeapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, viuhtezcatlatlapanqui yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son *bledos*, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y ahilles, tiene las hojas archoolas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llamon huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a ternizos, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hirvense tamalas de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilitas." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see *temalacuya* in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tiatli* and *anti* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchihuatetlli*—a strap for the hand, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototi*); *quetzalcomitl ne mac ytzontecalli quetzalmiauayo*—a tiara of feather mosaic (task in the form of a reversed cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlacochcpoualli ne*

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stones. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

776

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Juic mathactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemeuhque, ynjc netetutiloia tecpantzinco intech: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toquichti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço ciouatl, ipan oquichcochiz: mjtoaia, quintlaçulmjctia 753
yn jneçaoalis, 785
ic quintemacaia, tetech quitlaliaia, quitetlhujltiaia, quitema- [834]
ceoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoalistli, tlapalanaltilistli,
quexiliuiztli,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc quiceuiz, ynjc
quiçquaniz ynjc quicaxnoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquiztililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtoçe 776
navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequintin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, quinnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
inalnepantla quimattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli
yn ipan ca, monochiçaoa:

muchi quiçoa in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
quimattiuh. Auh yn aca çan quixcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
quiçoaia, etle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujquiztililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
quimixipilatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia,
quitlatocenjliaia, quicujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçoaia, [765]
tlacoquiztiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in
quichiuhjliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchmjd:

776
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan centoquiliaia [715]
oc no macuiltetl tamalnepiloton, molloniuja: yoan vntetl 262
tnoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl
tlilticc, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca inquitl, açoço necuaquitl, anoço xonecujlli,
papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tnoallaxcalli, tnoalchimalli,
tnoalmjtl, tnoalmaquaujtl, tnoalhnetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, 776
motenoca maltequjma, yn jxquich techiaoaloloc, yn 796
727

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cruz quauuauhuacpil—*cruz arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the cruz acatl* ("2 reed") *or the nauuallnacpil* (four-drill) *(see illus.). Seler: The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection, p. 73. Tlacuiltonoc, in the Aztec text, should probably be tlacochtonoc.*

72. *Corresponding Spanish text reads: "bavia, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, sarnosos, etc."*

73. *In corresponding Spanish text "pasas azimas."*

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, yuã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ascondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãtõ traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto nj̃nguna pena los dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njguna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cautiuos y otros

1. Marginal comment: *Jueues ha dias este.*

The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

1. Marginal notation: *Sancti quidem* XIX *et cons*.
3. Marginal notation: *Pij papæ et Mart.*

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Cap. 8.

1	*e*	KL.	Vei tecujlhujtl	*e*	22[1]
2	*f*		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	*f*	*23*
3	*g*		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	*g*	*24*
4	*A*		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	*A*	*25*
5	*b*		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	*b*	*26*
6	*c*		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	*c*	*27*
7	*d*		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	*d*	*28*
8	*e*		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	*e*	*29*
9	*f*		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	*f*	*30*
10	*g*		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	*g*	*1*[a]
11	*A*		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	*A*	*2*
12	*b*		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	*b*	*3*
13	*c*		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	*c*	*4*
14	*d*		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	*d*	*5*
15	*e*		nada. Esto hazian los señores por cõ-	*e*	*6*
16	*f*		solar a los pobres: porque en este	*f*	*7*
17	*g*		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	*g*	*8*
18	*A*		mãtenjmjentos.	*A*	*9*
19	*b*		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	*b*	*10*
20	*c*		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	*c*	*11*[a]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

2. Marginal notation: *Julius hi dies sunt.*

The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers: and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before: and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

KL

La noche antes desta fiesta ocupauanse todos en matar gallinas y perros para comer, en hazer tamales y otras cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y despues de compuesta la estatua deste dios: componjan las estatuas de los otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los calpiques y principales y maceguales, todos componjan las estatuas que tenjan en sus casas con flores.

Compuestas las estatuas todos los dioses: luego començauan a comer aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vetli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Ixcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

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[805
778]
776
[852
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608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *uauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Izcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

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Izcalli

1	*b*	KL.		*b*	8
2	*c*	A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã		*c*	9
3	*d*	fuego nueuo a la media noche delante		*d*	10
4	*e*	la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-		*e*	11
5	*f*	mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,		*f*	12
6	*g*	luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-		*g*	13
7	*A*	cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos		*A*	14
8	*b*	anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez		*b*	15
9	*c*	dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de		*c*	16
10	*d*	tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que		*d*	17
11	*e*	tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y		*e*	18
12	*f*	ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-		*f*	19
13	*g*	llos anjmales para que se assassen: y		*g*	20
14	*A*	dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-		*A*	21
15	*b*	chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que		*b*	22
16	*c*	ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los		*c*	23
17	*d*	quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia.		*d*	24
18	*e*	y todos comjan dellos por honrra de		*e*	25
19	*f*	la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y		*f*	26
20	*g*	beujan y regozijauanse.		*g*	27

[262]

En esa fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del biexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo con muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Ixcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

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X 796 266 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

[262] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque quintlalhuja, quicentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa quintotonaltia cecen molcaxitl in tlaolpaccatli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquin ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquitiuh, quintlaoatiuh, ic quichoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaca yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic callatuiz quintoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioual, iuh ipan tlaruj, in mamalti, in oacanti:

in quinoaoanazque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoquiztilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, izco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, izco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, quitoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in quitzoncuja, quimopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oquimomacetuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eoa.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoaltzitzitia:

11. See p. 44. Seler, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making a trodden was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scratching' ceremonials."

12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.

13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún wrote: "*pusieron todos ornados, sobre cesped o hierba de hoja, o de tiçal, o grada cernada alli ornados.*"

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuitlateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[34]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[35] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notlatzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal.

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Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaeoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexqujch maco, in quexqujch quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoiuh.

[431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixqujchtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencaubtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

796[X] 535

Auh in cujtlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iubqujn mjccaoati, quinchoquilia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

796[X]

Auh no ichoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cuicateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo.

796[X] 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ynjttac ietiuh, vmpa qujquasquatoque.

[262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'qujxtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: qujpeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan qujoalcaoaia: njman qujmonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynjc mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapā tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tzcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone-

796[X] 301

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31. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 173-88) says that Moctezuma I invited "los señores de todo lo redondo"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mizquic, the Matlatzinca, and as many more as possible. "Los señores de las provincias y ciudades," he comments, "admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, persistieron pues sus provisiones y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dexó espantados á los forasteros. . . . Donde comenzó pudo los de las provincias y ciudades convocaron diversos de temor grandemente se consideraba con los mexicanos, viendo quan cobdiciosos estavan y ellos temiendo á sus enemigos."

32. Ollinpalli: "tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacian de maiz sin cozer," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Salas (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *cuauhtlacuilli*—"dize 'Pan de Castilla sino Arahuacho'. . . . Es cosa con Cobrir in Ruyfarro, dos sus empedradas, Tostado cuauhtlacuilli Mexicano, sino sus Mahizabl, mide sus Mahizmore, largamelle cuenta."

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnjc cempoali omume capitulo, vncã moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli. [796X]

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpuḷuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitilitoque, ic tlalhujqujztitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in iuquich nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto quinecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti quittaia, cuecueponṭoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan quezizquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quezizquipipil, çan quezqujquauhtoton quicujcujtlalpia, quiilpia. [796X 824] [784] [532]

Auh ynic xuchitetemoaia, quicenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj quioalnamacaia, in millaca: [796X] [432]

auh yn iquac y, quiquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti quimauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: quitlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnnetemachil, yn itech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn itech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmoxlatia, onmocacoa, yn jmeoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: ". . . *que hazian en el postrero dia del segundo mes, que se dezia diezmoquenalcuitl.*" In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Toxcatl.
2. *Auia sembrado cepacochtzintlis*—"*Y se auian sembrado semillas*" (Garibay: "Habíanse sembrado," p. 294). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has, for *sembrando*, "*Jindet stand das Aussaeen statt der Ratsel.*"
3. "*Los viejuos de aquel barrio*," corresponding to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 92, n. 3: *tamalquahuitl*—"*Pan-del pues tamalquauitl, de tamalquil, dejuo un hierbe pequeuna, es semilla, sirve de comer.*"
5. *Tlatlacatilo*: Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 79) uses the term *corpselets*; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 295) has, for *pues mitoque huehuetlatilo*, "*y se llamaba, 'se soltaba los pedos'*"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*soltauan un algunos suyos.*"

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *magueyes*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cēpouallí onei cxpitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic mochioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techcħan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlacherujlli, heeżço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia, qujquequetzaia, qujtitiquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiolloclama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacąztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli:

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in icaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujtteca in atolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oiztix, yn

1. Given Vigil (*Gran Peluda*), according to Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296), Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 278) refers to Uey tozoztli *as gran pascuala*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pascuacilla . . . pequeña respecto a la otra que era de mas parte i otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Sahagún, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Bamboquials* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Bimgo Kapiol*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. Pio—*Abies religiosa* (*H. B. K.*) *Schlecht & Cham*, in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Saint, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*abeto, árbol de que se coge el olio de abeto*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbor est crecbra et crassa, folia numerosa sed crebra, sed evergentia.*" He appears associated with *cypressoid*, as does Garibay (*Llave del nahuatl*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *laurel silvestre*, Saint says, and adds that *acxoiatl* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 375 of Paso y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican term *maguey* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306: "*quauhnexatolli, que es harina muy cernida y muy blanca, hecha con tequesquite.*" In *Bimgo Kapiol*, p. 84, Saint specifies that the grains of maize were "*ani Pennsylvania golpeadoa.*"

5. A *xocoatl* gruel, in Saint, *loc. cit.*; Durán (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and rumpled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *magucy* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

● [262] As fast foods they made, before them, *five tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac*, "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

otetzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ioiuhcatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, quicenocuitiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamantiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali quitquj, vmpa quipaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac quitquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, quioalitquj, yn inchachan:
quinnonochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco quiquetza: vncan quintlaquentia, quintlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan quimanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappitztic, tlaixtexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiquijuitl pinolli, yoan eriо izquiti conmana.

Auh çan ixtli quitequj acatl vncan quitemjtia, quitentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa quicuj, quimamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenoua calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan tecbachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teurlac, vmpa quimoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa quinamoc, ic neaujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli ieц: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, quinnamaitia ichpupuchti:
yn aca itzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cahui de maiz* is correspondingly Spanish text. Cardoso (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maiz*; Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*parvum o mata de maiz antes de que spiguen.*"

7. "*Otras yeruas, que llamamos, mayual.*" In Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the magney, says: "*Las raices gruesas llamadas, yerbas de gallos.*"

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with cake seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young, seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, and the youths took it up. His breech clout went stretched and spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, they carried up [the platform]. Cords fastened it to the four [corners], so that they might take it up, that they might carry it. They went stretching [the cords] that [the platform] might not twist.

Then they began to climb up. They went rolling, winding, and reeling [the breech clout] up, coiling it.

As they went rolling up his breech clout, the officials proceeded to take up, gathering and collecting them together, the ceremonial arrows.

And when they had come to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, then they placed upon the serpent bench [the paper roll]. They placed it before him; they bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it on tightly and firmly.

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When they had come to place it [there], then all came down; and there remained the officials, the priests, the guardians who guarded it.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up at sundown, when a little sun still shone; and also at sundown an offering was made.

● [262]

And the *tamales* which[13] they ate were fruit *tamales*, [which were] red, or *tamales* made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[14] colored *tamales*, *tamales* of coarse, white flour, and [*tamales*] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical *tamales*, wrapped up in amaranth seed dough—these *tamales* they offered at the temple.

And when it dawned, then offerings were made in their houses; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded by everyone, women and men.

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the priest beheaded other quail, but only by laying his hands upon them.[15]

Then, breaking [loose], the common people followed. All the people beheaded quail—men and women.

yn oquiçencatlaque, cacoquixtia in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in teachcauan, in telpopochti, ixpan onotiuh, ixpan çouhtiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaoaleciuj, quixtotiuj:

yn ocxitique yxtintlan teucalli, in ie quixtlecauizque, ca naubcampa ixticaca mecatl, inic cacoquixtizque, ynic quinapalaoaque, quixtitilinxtiuj, ynic amo monecujlos:

njman ie ic quipeoaltia in tlecoz, quilacatzotiuj, quicuixtiuj, quixecuja, quixecuixtiuj:

yn jamamaxtli quioallaztiuj, in teumixtl concuixtiuj, quinechicotiuj, quicententiuj in tequippaneque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oquipantlazque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapechco, ixpan quixequjlia, itech quilpia, quicacatzilpia, quixteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequipaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in quipiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixquich tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoquiçaia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in quiquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzooalilacatzolli:

ynin mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynic tlailacatzolli, quicẽmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn otlathuje, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacatecutl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixquich tlacatl, yn cioatl in toquichti:

conpeoaltia yn *Motecoçuma*, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn iioma quicotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çaçalti, tlenamacac, in quincotona, çan inpã conmantiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in maceoaltzitli, yn ixquich tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oquichtli in cioatl.

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14. Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Historia de Mexicayotl* (H. Tezozomoc-Compere, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, has, for *quauhquiauil-tamalli*, beans and cornmeal cakes with kind or other meat.

15. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 184) suggests that the priest merely touched them as indicated them symbolically.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

● [262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

[262] And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

[785] And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

in itlema: njman ie ic tlenamaca, quijaosc oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelololi, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oquimjmjlo, ic caci, yc xxioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cōtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelololi.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachicló, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conxtimati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic nexxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoā nauhioal, in nemarcanemoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

auh yn aixmo onaci icalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic mexuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (*que*) *se crece sedilio*; . . . tlamacazqui, *que se crece diabrar*; . . . teopixcatzin, *que se crece sacerdote. De estos nacerdotes los mayores elegian por sumos pontifices.* . . ."

8. *Izoatl*: leaf (Simeon, *op. cit.*), or species of tomato (Simeon, *op. cit.*).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "*estos viejos, que llamamos quaquacujlti: los quales traen los cavellos largos de negros, arrepuntados: salen en la corona de la cabeça, que traen los cabellos largos, al rededor de los clerigos.*"

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *maguey* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[18]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic xxioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo quicxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [341]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo quicelilia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macecalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [262]

auh yn iquac oicuic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mooncoachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujcni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaioaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcoonjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjxcalxaxipotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcoonjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoaliztli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi, [535]

auh yn ocalquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani ennmolioa xiuh, itoca xiuhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, [793 292]

18. "Buffalo de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexquich veliti quitzitiquja tamalli, ixquich quitemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xoconamalli, cequj mjiaoatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj ixtotocolotlaoio:

And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in quimittaia pipiltzitzinti, cenca vel quintlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan quiteixtimatcamaca in tamalli: quimjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in quintlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aquin quittaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittvz, quivivitequj, quitatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexquich omacoca mochi quicujlia, quicencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ẽmonexotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, iehoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamalivà, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

Auh in quexquichtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: quitoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen todlaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh quinamopevilmatque, in manel quinoaltoca, quinvalhujtequj, in quinvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in quintlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: iehica ca

2. "*Cor tamalli tlaxtur fuit ovo: . . . tzoatli, chaux; tzocal, fruit; mimaoal, fleur de maïs; yacatolli, espèce de maïs, et tamalli, maïs. Les deux autres dernier composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yacatolli, et le second avec des fleurs (xuxal) sucrées (tzocolic)*" "[Jourdanet und Simeon translation of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintéotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Carophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in quimama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmolooctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc.

Ce tlacatl quiquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quicalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quioalnamiquj, yuicpa quioalchaioa.

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzna:

njman ie ic tlacoti, quiquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco quioallalia: iehoã quimati in machiceque catca in campa quitlalia, in campa quinequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhquilitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netotiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan quitta oquichtli, mopotonjaia, motaoqia.

Ixquich tlacatl motamaluja motocotamalujaia: quintlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in ueuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpochtli, in tlamacazqui, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço quitzacutiaz nectitilo, neixpãtitilo: quipantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac,

and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

quintlapichilitivitze, iuhquin tlacaoacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo quimpepechoa:

auh in cequinti oc vecaioan, in quinpepechoa, inic quintlacatilia, quimixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, quimõquentia in tetevitl, yoan quimõoquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in quintlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in quinchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã quitlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic quintlamanjlia: in quinmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan quintlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan itzquich in quintlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequintin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Inic ce itoca Tepexoch. Inic vme: Matlalquae. Inic ei: Xochtecatl. Inic navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Inic macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioatzinco in quimpeoaltia in quinnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, quintlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quintlatlaiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, quiocujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La cabeça de cada vn mesmo tenia dos cores, vna de persona, y otra de culebra. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), *"vsauan a meter barcas de barro, atadas con sogas de zazate."*
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Relación ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *acalli* is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama tzompopolli, es muy ancha y tiene unos cabillos huecos como aquella barba que se llama acalli y criase cerca del agua, y cuando se mueue suena entre las flores cuando la mueuen."*

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[13] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay panting.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[14] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in qujmpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axioacã, no mjqujx: vel iioma qujmjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan conelteqUj. [796] [534]

Auh in tlachixquj, in oqujttac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujtva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma ixqujch.

Auh in oqujcacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xixitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlamaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oaleoa in machiotl, auh in tlachielonj vrvel hivitl in tlachioalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in qujoalitquj, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman qujncujlitiqujça in tiacaqan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexqujch oqujoaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmẽtin, qujncujlitiqujça, çan juhqujn qujmomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhqujiaoac, aocac vel qujncujlia, ie ecan qujpantlaçazque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachielonj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoa, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, qujnnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, injc mozcalia. [785]

Auh in omozcalique mec oaltemo, qujtqujtze in ocacique tzoalli, qujmoquilla in inchan, ca nel immal, qujqua, qujnmamaca in inoaniolque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, qujcenqua. [262]

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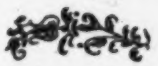
13. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 88): "*y luego se juntaron los capitales y entraron dentro del un patio que se llamaba quauhquiauac. . . . En este lugar estaba una laguila de piedra grande y alta como un estado de hombre, y por esa llamaban a aquel patio quauhquiauac; de la una parte del laguila estaba un tigre de piedra, y de la otra en esa también de piedra.*"

14. Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 168) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: ". . . *fabricabano . . . due statue di aquesto dio dinaro, de la pasta de varias grandias con sangre de ninos sacrificatos, y la gentes por hacene algunos bocs de acacia.*"

15. In *op. cit.*, pp. 169-70, Clavigero writes: "*aquella noche que era la ultima del mes, celebrai tambien los sacerdotes y a la mañana siguiente llevaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a esta sala que habia en el recinto del tempio, y en presencia solamente del rey, de cuatro dignidades del tempio y de cuatro superiores de los seminarios, el sacerdote Quetzalcoual, que era jefe de los flamenzaques o prestenes arrojaba un dardo a la estatua esta que la atravesaba de parte a parte. Con este decian que ya habia muerto su dios; uno de los sacerdotes le sacaba el corazón y lo presentaba al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividia por medio y la una mitad se daba a los tlaxcaltecas y la otra quedaba para los mexicanos. de esta se hacian cuatro partes para los cuatro cuarteles de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividia en muchas porciones que se distribuian entre todos los individuos del otro mexicanos. Esta ceremonia explicaban con la palabra teuculo, comer a Dios. Las mujeres no probaban de esta sagrada masa por creerla, como se puede creer de su pertenencia a un acto al empleo de la guerra.*"

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7



Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood ohe on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Jnic cempoalli on caxtolli omume, capt. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in motenteoaia Yzcalli. [796]

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenteoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia ouuhqujltamalli, [796] motenteoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan tota, ichoatl in tletl, [778] qujtlaliaia, yxiptla, çan coloth, in quichioaia, quixiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecuecioca, cenca mihiiotia: [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomextti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzon:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecuecioca, iuhqujn cuecuciaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelucoatl, ocelupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jtzontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iooalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ic qujpitza, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipacoac, mec ommotecpana, ōmoiacatia in telpopochti, in [796]

1. "Growth," or "the growing," according to Guilhuy, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Torquemada favors the meaning "solstice" (*op. cit.*, p. 300): "quiere decir: Remisión, ó el de la reverberación; porque por quanto siempre, ó quasi siempre andaba el tiempo, y pasaua de frio á calor, y començaua la Primauera." In Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal meaning of izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Bustamante's corresponding Spanish text says: "hacian la estatua del dios, del fuego de arquitos, y poniendole mascara, vnas con cara, que ellos llamaua coloti, que quiere decir monstruo, o mostruo."

selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotonti, quimõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oquimacique: quinoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco quimootlaztimanj, yoan in ie ixquich, in aquin çaço tlein ocacic, in jxquich tototl, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl[2], in ie ixquich nepapã tototl, yoan in axoloti, in acaltetepon, in mjlquauochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tlein quimõtlaztimanj:

njmã ic oalquiztimanj, quinoalmacatimani, cecentetl in osuhquiltamalli. Auh ixquich tlacatl in maceoalli moosuhquiltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quezquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequintin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in osuhquiltamalli, no quitocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jxquich maceoalli netech quimomacaia, in inosuhquiltamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aquin achto oicucic, iosuhquiltamal: mec iauh quimacaz in joõiolquj, ic quinextia in netlaçotlaliztli.

Auh in osuhquiltamalli in jmollo catca, acocilitlatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia maceoaltzitzinti, mjitonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in osuhquiltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapetztic quitotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jtoato, çan nonqua quitlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa iteupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vctli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh iooa, njcã tlamj ic tzonquiça, in osuhquiltamalli qualo, in anoço vauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Auh in onacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxquiaia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no quitlaliaia ixiptla, çan no cototli in quichioaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentlilhuj, in tlilli

3. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, p. 194 (*milquauack, zoualli, xoalloti*); p. 195 (*axocili, xalmichtli*); p. 196 (*atzauanatl*); pp. 187-8 (*teutzanatl*); p. 188 (*acatechichictli*). *Axolotl* is *Amblystoma dumerilii* according to Garibay (*Llave del nahuatl*, p. 198), and *Amblystoma tarvicinum* (mud puppy) according to Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 75); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tetzcatlipoca und Quetzalcoatl," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 78) says it is a "*salamandroidische Larve (Fischlarve)*." For *zoualli*, Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cyprinus americanus*; for *xoalloti* (Vol. II, p. 75) "a white fish like a sand eel." Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teotetl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tliltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teuteel, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoctli ica:

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auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquẽ çã no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

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Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in je iotextli, njmã catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmã ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

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Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpã motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmõmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in õmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncã motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

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Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmã ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmã ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iceupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotõ,

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Assimo esto vso, estauan del dios, del templo, de publico y comunico assimo, estos eso sirue. . . .*"
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, §4 (Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 191), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagles, "*los plumas del cuello y de las hombros, hazen la cola, eran de hombros de cuerchas (y) Mexicanos tapalcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y estaresplan estas pennillas de plumas pelados, que parescian estas pennillas de tafetan.*"
8. *Vilocpalli*: "*vna manera de tortas que llamam vilocpalli, de maiz molido, hechas sin cozer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., Vol. II, p. 386).

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,[1] which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.**

Injc cempoalli on ca[x]tolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in moteneoaia: Oauhquiltamalqualiztli, in mochioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac onjto: auh in jquac y, qujlhujquiztiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixoçauhquj.

Izcalli and the end of Izcalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the
●[262] eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ie iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in jquac in, oauhquiltamalli qualoia: novian quitzacutimāca, ipanoca, acā cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhquiltamalhujlo, in neoauhquiltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepāmacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

in aquin achto°oicucic ioauhquiltamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jcalecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

X 796 264 And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmā motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhquiltamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoā inin cencaltia.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cōmana in oauhquiltamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccaoan, in vncā totoctoque:

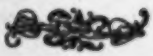
And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

njmā ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoquiztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

X 796 252 And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

auh in jtoaio, oauhquiltanialli, çan nōqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cōtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpalooaia

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 66. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).



Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were ęaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms roen took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796X

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiubtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: s[illegible]h tlacatlaqualoia. [785] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in tzmoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcoxquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncoxquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjxquilnamaquilia, yn motequaquauhnamaquililia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocoxquj ypan moquixtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moquixtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in ieboantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan quintoloaia in cocoa, çan ioioltiuja, ceceiaca, incamatica in quimonanaia, amo inmatica: çan quimontlanquechiaia, ynic quimon- 796X

6. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 219) translates *tzacujltiloia* as "*se ensucian la cara.*" *Ahcuexiliuhque* appears in the same text, translated as "*se fatle cenas sobre del agua.*" Cf., however, *atecuculli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecolotl*: *buho*; *chichtli*: *lechuza* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K., in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 369.

793 consuh—fast foods of only three *tamales*. Thereupon they offered a wooden vessel filled with only five [262] *tamales*, and a sauce perchance of turkey or of duck, which they had gathered together as food.

viaia tlacatlaqualli çan etetl, in tamalli, njman ic ic conmana, in quauhcaxitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço totolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctiaia tlaqualli.

Here Endeth the Part of Book II Called the Appendix.

Nican tlamj in icotonca inic vme amuxtli yn jtoca apendix.

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soap.[23] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

23. See Fls. 5, 6.

oaia in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

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auh in iquac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, maaltiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan mexocoqualiaia, quichioaia xocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli qujmjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxilique, imicampa ovetz, in jntequjuh,

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i ma juhqui tlamamalli in neçaoaliztli, in juhqui opoubtivetzque, ic pacca, iocoxca oaliça oalpaccaiça aoc tle qujmamana çan ivia in motlaecoltia in quitemoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: aoc tle qujjolitlacotiuh.

Je izquich.

[p. 10 is blank]

Fourth Chapeer, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capitvlo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço aca uey tlaçopilli ie mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmotzacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in maceoalti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa.

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The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nẽuetzi, in itlamjnaliz: tlaocuillotia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia.

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And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iooaltica vel nemalhuilo, neolololo, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacaxo in itlaminaliz citlalin.

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The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called *S*-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalsunecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca neztoc, tlanestitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalsunecuilli: ca quinenuilia, vel no iuhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlascalli, anoço tzooalli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quateuilacachtic: suchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, nouiian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techachan nechiuililoia.

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The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcolotl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinenuilia, quinamiqui, in itlachieliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilcocoltic, mamalacachtic, teteuilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcolotl.

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The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[12] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capitvlo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianalistli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, neteztontilo, netlacatilo, mocuezacomatema in tonacaiotl: soc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaouitl, in metzolli, in nochzochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtii çan yõ mocconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococolojo in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

ie icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãlameti, tlaixtotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneootinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

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12. *In zanelolli yan yuh in ipahuiz*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 268: "*Zanelolli quiyauyo, ce in zanelolli de los cenizos sin limpiar, son todos sus inmundicias.*" Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Jean "*Ichtaz son zaquiz zanelolli de Barrendille etc.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 159.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jean (*op. cit.*, pp. 69-71). *q. v.*

Quiteuiti appears in the *Real Palacio MS* as *quiquiuiti*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in tenquiz* (*tenquiz* see *tenquiti*), toward the end of the paragraph.

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esten. For this reason these people took pains to cover themselves at night, so that the tail of the comet might not fall upon them.

abrigarse de noche porque la inflamacion de la cometa no cayese sobrellos.

The stars which are in the Little Bear these people call Citlalxonecuilli. They represent them in the shape of an *s*, backwards, [of] seven stars. They say they are by themselves, apart from the others, and that they are brilliant. They call them Citlalxonecuilli because they resemble a certain kind of bread which they make like an *s*, which they call *xonecuilli*, which bread was esten in all the houses each year on the day named Xochilhuitl.

A las estrellas que estan en la boca de la bozina llama este gente citlalxonecuilli. pintanlas a manera de ese reboelta siete estrellas, dizen q̃ estan por sí aptadas de las otras y que son resplandecientes. llamanles citlalxonecuilli porq̃ tienẽ semejãça con cierta manera de pan que hazen a manera de ese al qual llaman xonecuilli, el qual pan se comia en todas las casas vn dia el año q̃ se llama xochilhuitl.

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Those stars which, in some places, are called the Great Bear these people called the Scorpion, because they make the outline of a scorpion[23] or *alacrán*.

Aquellas estrellas q̃ en algunas ptes se llama el carro esta gente las llama esculpiõ porque tienen figũra de esculpion o alacran.

23. *Escolpion*. In the original, the *l* may have been changed to *r*.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(0)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate.[1]

Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[4] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[4] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzitzicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; pottage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

Ic mactlctli vnnej cxpiualo: vncan mjtoa, in jnic-qual in quiquaia, in tlatoque.

Iztac totonquj tlaxcalli, tlacuelpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalpacholli iztac, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacepoalli tlaxcalli,

quatecujcujlli tamalli, iztac tlatzincujtl, iztac tetamalli tlatzincujtl, chichiltic quatecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quatecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhnextli, tololnacaquimjlli xocco tlapaoaztli, anoço tlatentli, nacatlaoio tamalli chilcozio: cihoatotoli tlatlcotzalli, çolin tlatlcotzalli,

tiançiçtlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli etica tlaxio, tololin patzcalmolli, chiltecpiio, tololin, chilcozio tololin, chilchoio tololin, maçanacatl tlatentli, citli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlaolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, xoxoizquijtl tepitoton totome, canauhtlaoaztli, canauhtlapaoaztli, atzitzicuijlotlapaoaztli, nacatlaocctli, tlatzmoioujlli nacamolli patzcallo, chilcoztlatoujlli, chiltecpinmolli xitomaio, chilcoztmolli xitomaio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, iztac amjlotl chilcozio, tomaoac xoujli, patzcallo, cujatl chilchoio, axolotl chilcozio, atepocatl chiltecpiio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tiscatzantli inamjc papaloquiztl, chapolin chichiaoa, mexocujli chiltecpinmollo, chacali patzcallo, topotlimjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçxococmolli iztac mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish sometimes varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the main, our translations follow Sahagún's; footnotes take account of the most noticeable variations.

2. *Tlaxcalpacholli, tlaxcalpacholli*: hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, *op. cit.*, the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada.*"—If the root of *-pacholli* is *pachoa*, the term could indicate that the tortillas were smeared, or could refer to the way they were heated; see also note 3, *infra*.

3. In Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 307, Dr. Ignacio Alcazar translates *quatecujcujlli tamalli patzcalcholli tlaxcalli* as *Tamales de cuerpo cenido y cada esquinado fuerte. Alcazar Tezcucano*, in *Historia de Méxicopo* (2. Tezcuco-Compuesto; Ferio P. Jouet, 1855), I, p. 288, has this explanation: "*los cuales appellé quatecujcuili-tamalli, bouyo-tlaxcalli* [bouyo *tlaxcalli*?], *tlaxcal-pacholli, grande glaseur de farine de flor o de farine de maiz qui sert donner polissur d'épaisseur, ainsi que tout enduit d'albumine ou de glüe.*"

4. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*

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herbs;[4] locusts with chía; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; sardines[5] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

Red, rough sapotas;[7] red plums; yellow or vermillion plums; ashen sapotas;[8] small sapotas;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotas;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guanábanas*;[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *etchicalli*; green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *eloquilitz* herb;[17] the mouse herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *achochoquilitl*;[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuitlapalli*; squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *xaphanus*; small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

tlatlauhquj teçontzapotl izochiqual maçaxocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlaxtaleoaltic, eheiotzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, xoacatl, aztzapotl, nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, zoxoctic, camopaltic, matzatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, exotl,

mjiaoatamalli tlaixnamjctilli ouhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço xantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ouhquiltamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeoatlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochizquitl, aiotlatlapanalli, olchicalli, elotl tlapaoaxtli tlaoatzalli, ouhquiljmolli tonalchillo, itzmjquiljmolli, tonalchillo, ouhtzontli tonalchillo,

tzaiaxalquiljtl, xonacatl, hijacaquiljtl, eloquiljtl, moçoquiljtl, nacaztochquiljtl, achochoquiljtl, ujtzquiljtl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, axoxoco acuitlacpalli, aioxochquiljtl, aionanacatl, aioiacaquiljtl, aiotepitoton, mexixquiljtl, popoiauhquiljtl, nopaltepitoton mjchtenhio,

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5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 74b, this is *Perophyllum macrocephalum* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 194) says of tuna: "*son pardillos: colores en las mazmorras, son buenos de comer y sabrosos.*"

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 274: *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—"*mamayes o zapotes colorados que se dicen el verdadero tzapotl.*" Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the *mamaljuel* as "*de hechura y grandor del corazón de carnero, tienen la corteza algo y tosca, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen las cortezas negras muy lisias y relumbrantes.*" Cf. Jaquez in Molina, *op. cit.*: "*Mamey especie dellos.*"

8. "*Son los camotes*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. "*Llamanlos los españoles zapotes [valli se dicho por vos]. Son muy dulces, tienen en ellos colores*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273, this is *Achras sapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot esculenta* Crantz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335: *guacamotly* or *camote*. *Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 227, "*las colores de estas dichas raíces son y blancas como huesos, y son de buen comer.*"

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*amapol*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: "*son amarillas de dentro y de fuera; son muy dulces, tienen a manera de yema de huevo cuando tienen el color cuando cuecen.*"

12. *Annona squamosa, posterior synonym*, in Jiménez, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260: *Annona cuirassa*, Schult; *Annona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 799; *Philocalistemon dulce* (Rumph.) Britt.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 32 (*Guanábal*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 149: "*Maiz: Cabellitos de la mazorca de cada sorte.*"

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 194; *op. cit.*, I, p. 12, n. 66 (*camohuitl*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that cuauhtli may refer to either the chamapolin or amaranths (p. 564).

16. *Allium* sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

17. *Baldellia ranunculoides* L.—cf. *de antiguo* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. *Mouse* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 318. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334, has "*Yerba del Angel*, Eupatorium dalea[folium]. Inq. Compuestas"; *quauhtlaquetzil* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361: *Rubus chrysanthemoides* Michx.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338: *Rubus corylifolius* D. C.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, tozunquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcoxio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc chcioatolli, ouahatolli izqujo, mjchioaoatolli necuio, itztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, xiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jzqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquiça tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjili: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman ice in jzqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic mozeoloa, in jzqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jzqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanj, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, izoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapixque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[643]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Njman motera in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaouh, xoxouhquj cacaoçinth, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vicztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, itztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237: small tomatoes; Simeón, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499: "*las más chicas tuhuxmatas, es decir, de cuesta.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chía verdadera. Salvia gujf*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 986: *Salvia polystachia*. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* DC.—"*De México, chile cualiguac, creese del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del mismo de los mexicanos, a los que parece similar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salbia hispánica.* L. *Salbia*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 988: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has *barberos*, which would require *navajeros*.

25. *Tiltic* and *itztac* are as they appear in the Codex; *ziltic* and *iztac* are probably correct.

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 270] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

● [262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanalizti in tianqujzco: auh in ieheatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianqujztli, ioã ixqujch tlanamactli, jmpampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia quitecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieoian, çan ioono-ian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquiztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototi, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan toteiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tlilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aistl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoc-tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tliltetl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexouhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchiouhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiantzoetzol, iztzol: totoli, vexolotl, çiacatzonli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, xnitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Yej nacaztli*: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum (Dunal) Baill, in Enxuso, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como henojos blancos."

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443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
●262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314 paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
317 rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, aztitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jxqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xxxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzaçotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjxqujtl, itlaaquillo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocuachtli, quauhaiocuachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquauxtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquauxtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxeloloni, ioan tepozcoioloenjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoaloni, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujloloni, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualoni, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, quillanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, ocotl, mjiaoxtamalli,

4. *Atzacuanahuel*: "son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y largos; tienen los pies largos: son crecidotes y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que vuelve en la provincia de Anáhuac; entran a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas a llovia; son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que beben, y los tordos del agua, por tiempo se crahuen en pared, dicen que las van entrar a bandas en la mar, desaire del agua, y que vienen más pereces" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Antequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonni* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipixcan*: "son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crianse cerca la mar, y al tiempo de crujir el mala tienen mal desaire a la tierra; cuando estas aves vienen, conózcolas que es tiempo de crujir el mais" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW o. Bish, currently called *equipexa*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anseres mexicani* . . . . grandes como los de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos: tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas colores para escribir" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacame*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"Cierto género de chile llamado *chiltecpin*, muy tostado y mezclado con sal" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 182)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *sup.n.*

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 18, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Simões, *op. cit.*, says also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. Temoxol: *tejocotes*—Crataegus mexicana Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150).

14. Cacomitl: *cacomixtle*—*Tylorhina parvula* Rang; *cacomixtle*, *el edible tuco* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 457.

15. Cimatl: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 357). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermodimus amphibolum* Hemsl. (p. 459) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 461).

16. Chiauh: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of quauhayacachtli are identified as *Jacropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. Metzalli: *mezal* (maguey), *cabbagetil* (*principio, cerveza*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Ximenez, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that tzonilan must be in error in translating *cerraquilla* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 18, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*ghiaquelite*) as, "*Es Méjico especie de cinarocéfalo*" (artichoke).

19a. See Simões, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-4, 508. Simões suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. pauciflorum* are mentioned.

20. Xocotzolli: *acetosa*—Oxalis *angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. tetraphylla* Cav.; *O. sericellata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 454). Ximenez (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of Oxalis, but on p. 213 notes that the term served to mean also the *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that contemporary libraries identified two species of *Begonia*.

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soms; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauitl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ococtzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in iehoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoxtzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 235, describes *oyoquilitl* as "*Lechuga y verças de las frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mexandrya[illegible]*

[p. 70 is blank]

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And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimā ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in ocemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caanz. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ ychuātin ypilhuā in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in iquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'xiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictinomana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in mootztimani. auh
nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in tototecti q'moncotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzontecontitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mōcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel 431
nouian calaq̄ auh im macenalli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallaxcalli.
ytzcocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancalaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuā. in quehena cōmaca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl. aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc. momoztlae yuā.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ie-
hoatl motecuçoma, quimjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlaca-
teculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla inpan quichioz-
que in Españoles.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in quimjoa
mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti:
yoan quimjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tlacaoa
in jpan tlatozque in jaquich intech monequiz in qua-
lonj in totoli in totoltetl, in jntac tlaxcalli: yoa in
tlein quitlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in
iniollo, vel quimjttazque, quimjoa in mamalti, ic
monemachti, cujx quisque in jmeẓo: auh iuh qui-
chiuhque in titlanti.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca motlaeltique, chi-
chicha, itretenmotzolloa, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixoa:
auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhuique, quezquiz,
cenca invic coac, quintlaelti: ichica ca cenca xoqui-
iac in eztli.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Auh injc iuh quichiuh motecuçoma, ca quinteuma,
teteu inpan quinma quinteuicac: ic notzaloque, ic
tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhuicac vitze: auh in tlitique
tenacatzacti mjtoque,

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

quin iehoatl quiquaque intac tlaxcalli, tlaxincuitl,
totoltetl, totoli, auh in ie ixquich xoctiqualli, quauh-
tzapotl, teçontzapotl, aztaxapotl, tozcuiztlatzapotl,

1. Cuellar, in "Partidpiorum de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'duplicados de la persona' o el 'doublebienheureux'" in regard to nanaoli. The term may be related etymologically to nana' (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb nanaoli, nanaoia (to heal or the shamanism, or in magic visits), or Maya-Quiché na, nan, nana (wisdom, science, magic). Cuellar favors the second possibility (nanaoli, nanaoia).

2. *Tlatlacateculo*: concerning the term *tlacatecolotzin*, Cuellar refers to an area de hombre perniciosa, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Robredo ed.), p. 33 — "tiene parte con el demonio" (*tlacatecolotl*) (*Ibid.*, p. 174). In op. cit., *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 388, he refers to *tlacatecolotl* as "brujo," "mago," "hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre perniciosa"; "precipitation y provocation de la muerte." There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlachiviani*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In op. cit., *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Cuellar, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "Le rale exact, pouvoir devenir [prédicteur astrologique]," and notes the relationship of the term to *tetlachihuiloni*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La poblazión del valle de Teotihuacán*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhtzapotl*: sapota (*Lucuma chrysophylla* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (Médico Imperial Universitario, 1946), I, p. 274; sapote or zapotal (generic name), according to Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma sapota*, *L. hemphilli*, *Achras sapota*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Teçontzapotl*: sapotay (*Lucuma sapotaceae* Gaertn.), sapotaceáceals (Santamaría, op. cit., pp. 314-316). In Barrandiaran de Sahagún *Glosario alfabetico* (see above de la Nouvelle-Espagne (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explains that sapotes: "Les premiers Espagnoles d'Amérique confondirent [with various sapotes] le fruit beaucoup plus gros du sapotazapotl ou banane sauvage, de la famille des sapota, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui sapotay. C'est probablement le même fruit que les Antiques connaissaient sous le nom de teçontzapotl." See also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Aztaxapotl*: probably the same as *zapotal*. In Hernández, op. cit., I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamaría, loc. cit., as *Lucuma salicifolia* — *caimito zapotal* or *zapotillo*. In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *zapote amarillo* — *Sapotula grandi* (various). The *zapotal* (yellow sapote) is now generally known as *zapote domestico* (*Lucuma mammosa*, *Achras Cacuta Gaertner*).

7. *Tozcuiztlatzapotl*: *zapote prieto* (*Diospyros obovata* Ruiz — *chenduro*), in Sahagún, loc. cit.

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jicamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 648 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoiaxocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, xoacatl, oaxi, tezocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nanacalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjqujzque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in iehoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoctil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: *guacamote or camote* (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*cujtlahuacamotli* in *ibid.*, p. 334; *yuca* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 34, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 529 (*M. aipi* and *M. aconitifolia* Crantz).

10. *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jicama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçaxocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*amarradicama*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoiaxocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*amarradicama loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeon tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtaceæ*), in Sahagún (Rebredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guaxilote*): *Parmentiera edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17. *Ahuacatl* (*ahuacate, avocado*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeon tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Uaxin* (*guaje*): *Leucæna esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosæ*), in Sahagún (Rebredo ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Tezocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capuli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosáceæ*), in Sahagún (Rebredo ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *morral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. *urticifolia*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

24. *Coznochtli*: *cozcanochapulli* (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyck; *cardona*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*?—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca durazno o bermeja*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli* (*zaponochi, pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: *possibly tuna de agua, pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Brit & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: *possibly Arthropion cumulosa* Pfr.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

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—*After Pano y Troncoso*

44. Marina interpres for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

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648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncā mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca. in valteiacā, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totoltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, oqujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech mazitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmā qujnoalnāqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmā qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmā qujoalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmā vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli iecac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmōtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq̄ qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpeztroccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie ō meztallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacaque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jaqujch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoioloc, muchi maceoaloc, in aquin

-69-

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time—shortly before noon.

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged—all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required—fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

And the people of Tliliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tliliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tliliuhquitepec had set forth and originated—their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain—the god—and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tliliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

Injc ompoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acito Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn qujnpaccacelique vmpa tlaca. 648

In teucalhujacan oncalacq̃ onmocacaltemato in otǒcalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, xiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

auh in onacique, ça temac: moch mocencauh in jxqujch qualoni in totoli. &c. cenca qujnpapaquiltique, çan ivian intlan oncalaque, inqujch qujnmacaia in jxqujch qujmjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in eloxoxouhquj, in elopacaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopacaxtli, in eloixcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, qujntlanenectiaia, qujntlanenequiltiaia, qujmǒmocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

Auh in tliliuhquitepeca, vncā vallaque, qujmǒneloco in teucalhujaque: ichica ca in tliliuhquitepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq̃ in tliliuhquitepeca, inqujzcā iniolcan, inquechtetzon yiococan in teucalhujacan, vncā qujzticate, 648

vncā mononotzque vncan qujcemjtoque, vncā qujcentlalique in intlatol, qujnepanvique, contlamāvique in innenonotzal, injc qujnamjcque, injc qujtlatlauhtique in capitan in teuxl, yoan in ie mochintin teteu, ca omaxtico in inchantzinco in njcā teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictocaiuhquechilia in timaceualhol, in titeucallhujaque, yoan in Tliliuhquitepeca: yoan ma qujmocaquijti in totecujo. Ca in motecuçoma yol in mexicatl, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlacivilti, vel toiacacpa oqujqujzti in netolinjliztli: ca ixqujch inin techerqujxia in tlacala-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y allue venjan los vezinos de thenochtitlan que se avnqueron de la guerra conuenjeronse con los de Tlamalinpan porque eran todos parientes y deuda grande de Tenochtitlan venjan pobl a poblar a Tlamalla." The connection is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: *Los otomíes* (Mexico: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. 208, fig. 29.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans delight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and wounded; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Iaje cempoalli on chicume capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujnteputztocaia. 726

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aztli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixtique, iautlapixque, qujmonjtztoque in quēmā oneaztque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitta. Mexicae ie iauh in amoisouh, ticcencaoa, ticcecencaoa, ticcmolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocruhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlaloloa, tlaixqujqujça, tlatotoca.

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnxopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quexquich calitic momantiquiz, nec texixililoa, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōnomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çā conmotoquilique in mjquiztli, ça quexquin in tematitlampa quja in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imellel onquiz in Españoles: njman ie ic vi, quinteputzvitivi in jxquichtin tlamama. Ca socac quinmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjcxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. *Españoles*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

2. Sahagún (op. cit., II, p. 279) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cocoa, sugar, cinnamon, and anise (*anhuí* — *Ilex vomitoria* L.).

3. See footnote 1 supra.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

722 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they
● 262 drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and
[137] swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçoque in intzontecō in veca tlaca. auh in axiosque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj ir xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapixmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoā mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxquiçacatl: yoan quijquasquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan quijquasquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, quimooxqujaia qujtotototpoctzaia, quitotoponjaia injc quijquaia yoā in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl quitetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"las cabeças unas abaxo . . . las otras todas unas hazia . . . las cauallos unas hazia."*

4. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 550, reads this passage.

5. *Hierba*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which likewise exists not, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grain have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Ribeyro ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as *"hierua . . . de muy verde y tiene parecer como el trigo, y es blanca, alimenta los conejos y otros animales."* Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequixquiyauhtl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has *"hierua muy dañosa y espinosa, que se haze en tierra salitrosa . . . se hierua para quemar."* Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing Simões (*op. cit.*), calls it nitre grass or couch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequixquiyauhtl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzompanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 275), *"es árbol mediano, tiene ramas acopadas, tiene la corteza colorada y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman coquizxochitl; con esta colorauan y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman cequiloxitl"*; p. 348: *"Cequiloxitl. Arbol, flor y fruto del Colorin.* Erythrina coralloides. *DIC.* Leguminosae." Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the correct common name (*zompanahuitl*), and observes of the bean (*colorin*) that it is *"especie de frijolillo rojo, dicen que envenena en abundancia cuya semillas."*

8. *Tzacuxochitl*. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mirtia compendiana* La Llave and Lex (?), *Epidendrum parviflorum* La Llave and Lex (?), *Gomesaria mexicana* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl o tzacuhil flumbre. Mirtia compendiana* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilli*, however, is given by Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvel-of-Peru. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds three common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera*, and *tromposilla*.

10. *Tzoncuil*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like serpentin: *"hazen muy verdes y cenicientas y redondillas, y también vienen lechas, y tienen las ramas coloradas. . . . comen . . . dauen, y especias y lenguillas . . . lo hazedor de esta raiz molida"* (mutilated). Emmart identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçiño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. quadrifidum* H. B. K. and *S. resinosum* Saw.

11. Cf., however, Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 550: *"und Stock und Leder und Hirschhaut, die braten, backen, rösten, kochen, essen sie so, und Tzacuxipac und Lehmziegel und auch Tzoncuil."* Of *tzoncuil* or *tzoncuil*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 249) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 163 (*tzoncuil*), says it is *"nombre vulgar de varias plantas medicinales, como el capulincillo o nigua* (Conostegia xalapensis), *el tempranito* (Miconia laevigata, *y otras."*

100 -

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apizmjc: auh çan jvian techvalcaltechpachotiaque, 722
çan jviã techololalique. 262

[p. 102 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[88] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[89]

[712] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[90] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[91]

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291]
- 402 bundles[92] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
- 402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
- 400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
- 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
- 400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
- 1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]

[714]
- 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262]
- 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]

[263]
- 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[88] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[89] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[90] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[91] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[92] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**

400 bundles of women's clothing**

[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**

[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*

263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls

314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners

8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[78a] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[**] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

● [262] 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212 were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[**] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ostros con que sellbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[10] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[10] PNE 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[xxx] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[xxxi] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[xxxii] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[xxxiii]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[xxxiv]

[xxx] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[xxxi] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenancingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conservan el Ocuilteca, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[xxxii] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[xxxiii] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 175 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco, the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[36] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[37] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[36] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[37] *FNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[a]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[b]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[c]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[d]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. ATOTONILCO DE PEDRAZA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28[r] of the *Mendocino*.[e] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[a] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[b] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[c] See n. 111, p. 31.
[d] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[29] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 317 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[**] Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1:228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 [128] Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [ca. 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y unas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[a] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[b] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[c] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated[d]
408 bundles[e] of men's mantles[d]
400 bundles of embroidered skirts[d]
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design[d]
408 bundles[e] of rich little mantles[d]
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle[d]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[f]

FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)[f]

OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[g]

[a] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[b] Cf. n. 35 above.
[c] *FNE*, 6: 201.
[d] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[e] Corrected from 400.
[f] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all
Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[33] This term is defined as "tierra
de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth
century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It
does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan
in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlal-
pan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291
800 bundles of rich little mantles[34] 714]
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border[34]
800 bundles of little white mantles[34]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[34]
42 warriors' costumes with shields[34]

FOOD[34] [262 ●
4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) 263]
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632
Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made
nine special milpas for its overlords.[35]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[33] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Texcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[34] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[35] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[47] as did Tequixquiac[48] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[49]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[50]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[51]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[52]

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[47] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[51] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[52] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[6]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[**]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[*]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[*]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[6] *ENE*, 19: 126. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers*

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton*

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?]
400 deerskins
100 live deer
100 large (live) parrots
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.**

* Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tzicohuscalaco[?]" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzinhque [Ilacatzinhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenia de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
408 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[a] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[b] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.[c] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[d]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[e]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huchutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

20. ACOLHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21r and 22r of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacā, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucā, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Tescalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapā, 10	Temascalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

* *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seysçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

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651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique. 632 651

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.* [412]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.* [412]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

* RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaqualа se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolsteria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

* RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[*] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[*] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
● [262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[*]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[*]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[*] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[*] RHE, 1: 152.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.* This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23′, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23°. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

* Bernal Díez (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Coernavaca."

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651

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

Sources of the Map

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24ᵛ and 25ᵛ of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[a] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[b]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[c] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[a] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[b] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tascala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[c] "Estan las dichas tres cabeçeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[d] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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FOOD	
20 loads of cacao*	
OTHER GOODS	
1,600 bales of cotton*	

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[*]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[*]

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[*]

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[*] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[*] RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[*] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago m^{d} a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquautla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyecatzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

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OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

Tribute of the component towns.—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholtan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18′) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identified as *El Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada año y en cada uno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada uno, de oro quilate: pagando en tostones el Rempes."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.
[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.
[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."
[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.
[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."
[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."
[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.
[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y conseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[a]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[b]
402 bundles[c] of little red-striped mantles[b]
800 bundles of large mantles[b]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[b]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[d] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[e]

[a] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[b] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[c] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Motecuçuma ... le davan una vara de oro maçiso de grosor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tigueres, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada una, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia una gallina de la tierra y mas tres ynDios de servicio en una huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Texcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

[1] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

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127 226 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 223 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 262 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus*, written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia*. In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians.

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission.

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and

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which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Castillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not improbable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no attention from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *aneneztli*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

263 262 266

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 314] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Yztta-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively *fowl* and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolsli," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponaxcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quateçoqujcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncā qujcenqujttiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imâceollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlâtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlaçochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

643 And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums —the ground drums—the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mâceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapiptzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

262 Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
— tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xococtamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totólqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaolo.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlazilhuj mâcoxoliztli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamâtli, ic qujxiptlaiocuiaia,

9. Cf. ibid., X, 29, 94-95; prose Nahuatl was a term generally rendered used by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and says diuersa pipilatus, inchpuch mapipiltzoan tecuiloa mouiqui-a-loa . . . See also, Olivera, op. cit., p. 227 (translation).

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the
851 leavings.[4]

Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncā achitzinca ompacuutoc, nepiciotoc, vellamachotoc in nepiciloian, in tecuanocaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica ez.[a] çan motlavellalo, moquetzteoa, moquecztiquiça, cholooteoa, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlātlatotivi, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlātlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanaubpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchā, yn jncalitic: auh intla cittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc-oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolcuja, in iquac ic apeoalco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo.

● [262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[8] which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congre-
851 gated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mococentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoā yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoā, in tetlamamaconj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iē vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmā ie ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocā, ic tevipātiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlalilloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocoenjc, inoccoenjc, intlatemovilcoenjc,

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4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las cobras del cacao, donde a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The text is apparently incomprehensibly corrupted to read *daaqquetiuj*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. Or *ceppa quimonana in ihiā.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"y esto dan llamando. Aprendido: porque en el, se acaban todo el combite."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 23, 24, it is referred to as *"olladilera a la que sirvia comunde y bebida."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (chianpinolli).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.* *yn tlaxcomitl, j tetlamamaconi* follows *xochcomitl.*

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hechizo de agua, y miel cozida, con la raspa: el qual llaman aguardi, que quiere decir, polvos de agua. Lo qual tenja aparejado, y guardado el señor del combite: de algunos dias antes."* See also Oswaldo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), *passim*, and esp. pp. 107 ff.